[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3),

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3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears
[574] the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ʿazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are ʾʿazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ʿazib; Egypt: ʿezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 (634) The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint,"

Lalla Aziza

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When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend,
[114] and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to
798 rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

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The Rite

796 782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession [533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat [787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, [634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of [171] hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Faces of Sekkawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u'Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--658 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. XI

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Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

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Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

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538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] /53/ It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" --
[534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets.
[533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed
[181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

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616 is handed down from father to son. The "Alt Teskawin" never
514 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
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•[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the